841 nearby thinking how good the meat would taste. While Coyote was butcher-
773 ing, she felt of the fawn's smooth hair and touched his ears and face. Pres-
539 ently, Coyote asked the girl to hand something to him, and when she turned away to reach it, Coyote put his hand in the fawn's fresh blood and flipped it upon the girl's thighs close to her vagina. The Coyote cried out, 'Oh, Sister, you are menstruating. Now you cannot eat meat until you are clean after four days have passed.' The girl was angry because she couldn't eat the meat. Coyote said to her, 'From now on it will happen like this to you once every month. After four days you must bathe.' Thus it was Coyote who caused the girl to have the monthly illness, and all girls have had it since that time.

"The girl went to bed unhappy and next morning when she awoke she was still angry with her brother, Coyote, so she left the camp early, saying nothing to her relatives. She ran away to a land in the west where she lived from that time on."

The Puberty Ceremony and Folklore

● 145 Havasupai girls are expected to reach puberty at 12 or 13 years but young women reported initial menses occurring from ages 11 through 17.

881 In childhood, a girl is shielded from knowledge of menstruation, although
864 it seems likely that some girls learn the physiological facts early from con-
841 tacts with older sisters or girl friends. Also, women informants speak frankly and without embarrassement both of menstruation and childbirth in the presence of children of both sexes. Although, in several cases, little girls listened with interest to interviews on these subjects, it is possible that they did not fully comprehend the discussion, especially since English terms were
[192] used. In Havasupai, the term for menstruation ǎhu k'íga literally means the quality of being red, that is reddish (Spier, 1928, 338). Blood was recorded as ǎhuǎ'i and red as ǎhuǎ'ta by this investigator.

841 Living arrangements afford little privacy. Old style hogans and other
864 house types consist of one room, and the newer houses have only one or two
862 rooms. A menstruating woman usually goes to the toilet area to care for herself, first to find privacy, and second, to bury her soiled menstrual pad. Since the toilet area almost always is located in some brush near camp, a little girl may chance to observe her mother or an older sister there. In 1933, a nine-year-old girl, who persistently questioned her older sister about the purpose of packaged sanitary napkins, was repeatedly offered the explanation that they were used to bandage injured arms or legs. When an uninformed little girl observes the initial puberty ceremony, she may be told that this is a treatment "for aching all over." This explanation may seem plausible by analogy with the therapeutic function of the sweatbath.

The Puberty Dress

881 In former times a buckskin dress cut to the same pattern as that worn
292 for daily attire was made for use during a girl's first menses by one of the
[622] men who knew how to do it. Chiefs are said to have fulfilled this function, while medicine men had no such role.

relatives who stop by to tend the fire for warmth in winter, cook, bring food, or perform other small services. Some relative may visit at the camp for a few weeks or months, but such care is intermittent, and the unfortunate aged without children may suffer from neglect, especially if they are unable to move about or prepare food.

Two Observed Cases

A feeble woman of 86 years was observed daily during a period of three weeks while the investigator was interviewing the daughter with whom the old lady was living at the Grand Canyon Village.

She could hear well but was almost totally blind. Her face was a mass of loose wrinkles, the edges of her eyelids barely distinguishable among the other lines unless she partially opened her right eye, as she did occasionally. Her tangled grey hair straggled loosely about her face. On a pile of dirty rags, she sat or lay beside the campfire. On her frail, stooped figure she wore the same tattered, filthy dress, sweater, and machine-made moccasins during the entire three weeks and probably slept in these garments at night. She was never seen washing, and showed no evidence of having done so.

She was fed thin cornmeal soup and small portions of whatever the family had that she could swallow in her apparently toothless state. She drank her food from a saucepan or small granite bowl, using her fingers for more solid morsels. Her son-in-law had traded some red rock powder in Moenkopi for about $5 worth of piki bread, of which she was especially fond. She crumbled it in small pieces, scooped it up in both hands, and with head tilted back, emptied it into her mouth.

The old woman was able to hobble about leaning upon a stick cane. To reach her toilet area she followed a mooring rope along the side of the tent in which her daughter's family lived, then followed a rope strung for her from a rear corner of the tent around some trees which removed her a little distance from the camp but not from sight. Once, when the old woman hobbled some distance from the camp gathering wood chips in a bag slung over her shoulder, she was guided back by her small grandson. Occasionally, she would wander off to visit a neighbor and would hobble around in circles until someone came to her rescue. On these occasions, the adults would call a child to her assistance and would keep shouting instructions to her and the youngster rather than themselves helping her unless no child was within calling distance. The children would lead her with a stick rather than touch her. Adults showed an equal distaste for personal contact with her, yet her toddling grandchildren were permitted to sit in her lap and her daughters-in-law readily placed their babies in her arms.

All four of the old woman's children were staying at that time in neighboring camps, and while she dwelt most of her time with one family, she occasionally stayed awhile with the others. The adults regarded her in a kindly way, and appeared tolerant of her failing body and sometimes confused memory, seeming to pity her helplessness.

Her son-in-law, himself nearly 60, one day gestured toward her and asked the investigator, "You gonna get old like that? Not me! I want to die first."

During this period of three weeks, another woman of 88 years came to Grand Canyon to care for her son's children while their mother was working. Before housing arrangements were made, she camped in the open with a roll of bedding and some dishes. Although older than the woman just described, this octogenarian appeared strong and well. Her vision and hearing seemed normal, and her face was unlined except for a few wrinkles at the corners of mouth and eyes giving her an appearance younger than her years. Her light gray hair was cut neatly in a straight line below her ears with a fringe on her forehead, and her clothing was neat, in good repair, and relatively clean. With the assistance of a cane, she walked about easily.

On one occasion, this individual came to visit the old woman previously described while the investigator was interviewing the two daughters of the latter. Soon the two were chattering with such animation that the younger women stopped to listen. They burst out laughing and explained, "Those two are saying they want to go away and live together away from other people. They want to go down in the canyon to Indian Gardens where the people used to live in the old times."

During interviews the latter two informants constantly checked information with their aged mother and also consulted the other old woman if she were present. They respected the greater knowledge of their mother concerning earlier days, but if she could not give an answer, they would shrug impatiently and say in English, "Oh, she don't know nothing!" However the old woman seldom evoked this response, for her memory seemed accurate and her mind fairly clear. Her greatest failing was a confusion in time sequences and perspectives.

Old women, then, generally are respected and treated kindly, although their infirmities may evoke a mild impatience. Old men are treated much the same as senility advances, but during vigorous old age they have somewhat greater prestige than women of comparable age and condition, as they do also in other age brackets. The children of the old woman first described referred to her more youthful state with great pride, for reputedly she had been a horseback rider of skill, and had raced in Flagstaff rodeos, winning when all competitors were men.